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SOUTH-WEST ARABIA: TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By HAROLD INGRAMS, C.M.G., O.B.E.

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Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 24, 1945, Lieut.-General H. G. Martin, C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., in the Chair.

Introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Mr. Ingrams had been intimately connected with affairs in South-West Arabia since he first went to Aden as a political officer in 1934. Later as British Resident Adviser at Mukalla, Mr. Ingrams, accompanied by his wife, carried out a series of journeys, which were not only of scientific value but which paved the way for a remarkably successful pacification of the tribes in the Hadhramaut, who were induced by peaceful persuasion to lay aside their hereditary blood feuds. It was in recognition of the part that Mrs. Ingrams played in helping to make this possible that the Lawrence Memorial Medal was awarded conjointly to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams in 1939; an example that was followed by the Royal Geographical Society in the award of their Founder's Medal in 1940. Mr. Ingrams returned to this country from the Western Aden Protectorate at the end of 1944.

The lecturer opened with an account of a recent journey in the Yemen, and it is hoped that this will appear as a separate article in the next issue of the Journal.

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OF late months there has been greater activity in the question of Arab unity. The conference at Alexandria was stimulated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to give full support to any scheme that will command general approval for strengthening the cultural, economic and political ties between the Arab countries. The conference was attended by representatives of Egypt, 'Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, and there was an observer from Palestine. Talk in relation to Arab unity is generally concentrated on the more advanced areas in the north, but sooner or later the matter must affect the whole of the peninsula, and the people of Southern Arabia must be drawn into closer touch with their brethren in the north.

I thought, therefore, that it might be of interest if I tried to give you a short description of conditions in South-West Arabia as they have been during the last few years. One way or another during the last six years of absence from England I have had to do with all parts of this area, and though I do not claim to know them all equally well, I thought perhaps I knew enough from seeing them personally and dealing with their affairs to justify my giving you my own impressions of them as a slight contribution to the material for the study of the question of Arab unity in relation to all Arab countries, including the less well known. But I make no claim whatever to give a final or authoritative picture, so you must not regard what I say about them as more than a personal view.

I have called this lecture "South-West Arabia: To-day and To-morrow," but as regards to-morrow I merely want to indicate a possibility or two, more with the object of asking the question, What can we do to help this more backward part of the Arab world to fit itself to take a real part in the League of Arab States which may eventually be established?

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South-West Arabia is to-day divisible into four distinct parts, and I propose to take each of these in turn, giving a sketch of how I see its

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121 present condition. It is not easy to illustrate that with lantern slides, but I wanted to use the illustrations mainly to enable you to see some of the differences between each division, something of the nature of the country, the appearance of the people and, above all, the architecture.

The Divisions of South-West Arabia

101 175 From an Arab point of view, in geography and history South-West Arabia consists of two countries, the Yemen and the Hadhramaut, but actually to-day its four distinct areas are the Kingdom of the Yemen, the Western Aden Protectorate, the Hadhramaut or Eastern Aden Protectorate, and the Colony of Aden.

175 681 In Islamic times and until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Western Aden Protectorate and Aden were part of the Kingdom of the Yemen, but various governors and sheikhs of the Western Aden Protectorate only held an uneasy allegiance to the Yemen and broke away as practically independent units. They remained independent until they concluded treaties with His Majesty's Government, mostly last century. Thus the Aden Protectorate gradually grew up. What is now the Colony of Aden was captured from Lahej in 1839 or ceded at later dates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century treaties were made with the coastal chiefs of the Hadhramaut. In 1914 a British sphere of influence in South-West and South-East Arabia was arranged with the Turks. The Turks had twice occupied but never fully conquered the Yemen, and their insecure rule came to an end after the last war, when the Imam became independent.

In pre-Islamic times the Hadhramaut was for a period an independent kingdom. From the time of the Prophet's mission until the ninth century it submitted uneasily to the rule of the Caliphate, and then became independent again, though for periods during succeeding centuries—until the thirteenth century—it was claimed by the Yemen. There was a final short period of Yemeni domination at the end of the seventeenth century, but the Zeidis were finally turned out in 1704. The Hadhramaut remained independent until 1888, when the British Protectorate over the Qu'aiti started.

Down to 1937 the Aden Protectorate, often known as the Nine Cantons, and the Hadhramaut were treated as two ill-defined entities, but as the treaties with the chiefs of both were similar, the two were united as one protectorate by Order in Council that year. When, however, a forward policy in the Hadhramaut was started in that same year, they were again considered separate for administrative purposes, and the old Aden Protectorate was called the Western Protectorate and the Hadhramaut and Mahra country the Eastern.

681 There are such great differences between the Western Aden Protectorate and the Eastern Aden Protectorate that they should be considered separate areas when one is thinking of the divisions of South-West Arabia. Indeed, the Eastern Aden Protectorate could well be considered as two areas itself—the Hadhramaut in the west, and in the east, linked with Socotra, the Mahri country, much more primitive than the Hadhramaut and probably more primitive than the Western Aden Protectorate. It has

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its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

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The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

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So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

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There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

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the Upper 'Aulaqi Sheikh. Of the Subeihi Sheikhs, the Barahimi, the Atifi, and the Rifa'i have treaties. The reason for the large number of treaties was the desire to protect the land frontiers of Aden from incursion by foreign powers and from tribal assault. But the haphazard way in which the treaties were entered into has been responsible for a lot of confusion, because the policy has extended gradually from merely interest in the security of Aden to the welfare of the tribes themselves. When the treaties were made the country was largely unvisited. Chiefs came down to Aden, and on explaining their importance were given treaties. They were induced to do so by the fact that treaty chiefs were given stipends and presents and entertainment. But when the Government decided to stop giving treaties as freely as before, there were still a number of chiefs as important as those who had had treaties and the importance of many of the treaty chiefs declined. They died, and their successors were not men of the same personality. So that there is good reason for revising the treaties, and this is now often under consideration, though there is a good deal of difficulty about it.

All these treaty chiefs are juridically of the same status. On the plane of precedence the Sultan of Lahej comes first with a salute of eleven guns and the title of Highness, the Amir of Dhala, the Fadhli Sultan, and the Lower Yafa'i Sultan have nine-gun salutes. But, apart from Lahej, none of these kingdoms can be said to have a government and there are wide ranges of differences of authority between them. Indeed, some of them are totally without authority. Some have several thousands of tribesmen and subjects under their normal authority, some have perhaps no more than a few dozens. The main feature of the protectorate for the last century or so has been anarchy, and the population from Sultans downwards is to an overwhelming extent tribal. There are no mercantile centres of importance and no cultural centres at all. There are few Seiyids, comparatively speaking, and their standard of learning is much lower than in Aden or the Hadhramaut, from which latter they most of them originate. Apart from Lahej there is not a town in the protectorate of any great size or importance, and the make-up of the treaty chiefdoms outside the 'Abdali State does not lend itself to the building of governments at present, and few of them have the potential sources of sufficient revenue to do much in that way.

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Historically, of course, the Western Protectorate was never a province of Arabia. The provinces of South Arabia were Yemen, Hadhramaut, Shihr (which meant the Mahra country), Dhofar, and 'Uman, and the Western Aden Protectorate is really part of the dusty skirt of the Yemen.

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Politically, therefore, the set-up is not very promising. The best chance of making a country of the protectorate is by encouraging federation between different areas. It is probably not possible for it to become one country with the Sultan of Lahej as its leader, though his group will probably always tend to be the more important. He is already the suzerain of the Subeihis and the Haushabis, and has intervened successfully at times in the affairs of the Fadhlis, the Amiri, the Yafa'is, and the Lower 'Aulaqis. The Amiris, with the Quteibis and Alawis, could, from a geographical point of view, naturally federate with his bloc, but the

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Audhalis, 'Aulaqis, and Beihanis are too far away, and it is doubtful if any federation with them could be very real. The Yafa'is, though they are excellent outside their own mountains, are at present a very difficult problem from the point of view of good order and government in them. I had almost forgotten the 'Aqrabis, but as that kingdom consists in effect of only one village on the borders of Aden and Lahej they hardly constitute a problem. But it is possible that some day steps towards the federation of the protectorate by areas may come to pass.

If, however, the political outlook is not very promising, experience of recent years has shown that in potential agricultural resources the Western Protectorate is far better off than the Eastern. It is true that its total area is not much more than half that of the Eastern and that by far the greater proportion of it is barren mountains or arid desert, but none the less the cultivable acreage is greater than that of the Eastern and the people are on the whole better agriculturists. There are fewer beduin, and the tribesmen, unlike those of the Eastern Protectorate, are many of them tillers of the land on which they live, rather than employers or financiers of a peasant class with the idea that manual work is unbecoming to dignity. On the coastal area there are large and useful oases at Lahej, Abyan—by far the biggest—and Ahwar. These oases are sure of regular spates from the Yemen highlands behind, and can grow useful crops of grain, principally millet, and vegetables and fruits of the coarser tropical kinds. There are good patches of soil in the Dhala and Yafa'i mountains, and the latter grow the best coffee in Arabia, but at Mukeiras in Audhali country there is a really important fertile area at over 7,000 feet where temperate crops are grown and which is now producing in fair abundance European vegetables and fruits of excellent quality which include potatoes, tomatoes, lettuces and so on, apples, peaches, plums, and apricots. The main difficulty in disposing of these good things, for which a ready market exists in Aden for local consumption and for shipping, is communication and transport. The Audhali plateau is over a hundred miles from Aden and is cut off from the maritime plain and the foothills by a 4,000-foot, almost perpendicular bluff, the picturesque Kaur al Audilla. So road-making is difficult and expensive, and the bad tracks play havoc with the lorries used for transporting the produce to Aden from the foot of the bluff, down which it is transported on animals. If ever the Yemen is developed agriculturally it will have great advantages over Audhali country, for roads can be better made. The main agricultural produce that now comes by caravan and lorry from the Yemen is the highly perishable and iniquitous qat, and the qat traffic is probably centuries old. Better communication and better agriculture in the Yemen would therefore make it difficult for the Audhali country to be economically worth while. Beyond the Audhalis and descending towards the heat of the desert is Beihan country, which drains to the Rub'al Khali. Having high mountains behind it, it is reasonably watered, and millet cultivation is being extended there.

The present tendency in the improvement of conditions in the Western Aden Protectorate is to select an area where conditions are favourable and send a political officer to assist the chief to establish control over his people,

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to advise him in his rule so as to establish confidence in him as a ruler, to help in agriculture, medical work, and schools. The work done so far has been of an experimental nature, but a measure of success has been achieved in the Beihan and Ahwar areas, and work in other areas, such as Shaibi country, has been started. I have not been in close touch with the work, but I believe the experiment is distinctly promising. If there is a weakness about it, it may be that there is not sufficient promise of continuity—that is to say, it may be it is too dependent on one man, the chief. The areas are small, there is no government establishment. If you have an establishment one man may fail and you can put another in, but the thing continues. If you have only one man, and he dies, there is no guarantee that his successor will be like him. Even if a political officer is permanently in the country he is dependent on there being a co-operative chief, unless he is to run the country himself.

The W.A.P. is almost entirely tribal, as I have said; there is therefore little culture. Indigenous schools are rare and there are none beyond the Quran school stage. Illiteracy is very general. But there is little doubt that schools, if provided, will be quickly filled. The main question is what will the newly educated do in their own countries? Certainly there is room for educated chiefs and for the comparatively few who are, or will be, required to help them in governing or providing social services. But the opportunities there will only absorb a few and there are no mercantile communities worth mentioning. There may be scope for some technical training and even agricultural training, but it is not easy to see how the tribesman already expert at the cultivation of oases, terrace cultivation in the comparatively few parts where agriculture is possible, is going to be given an education which will greatly assist him. There are few areas where over-education could cause more trouble with discontented literates than the proteciorate. So that a question that to my mind still requires much thought is—what sort of education can be given which will help the advancement of the country and not upset it? And I don't think that a satisfactory answer is yet forthcoming as to what can be the future of the W.A.P. Until it is answered it is difficult to decide on the lines education should follow, for there is nothing old to build on.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate

So much for the W.A.P. The Eastern Aden Protectorate provides a great contrast. Perhaps it may be helpful to catalogue the contrasts briefly. In the first place, the area of the E.A.P. is between 70,000 and 80,000 squares miles, while that of the W.A.P. is between 30,000 and 40,000. The estimated population of both is about 300,000, so that the E.A.P. is much more sparsely inhabited. But the bulk of the population lives on the coast and in the Wadis Du'an and Hadhramaut 100 to 150 miles inland. So that there are vast areas which are practically uninhabited. Therefore there are bigger distances to cover between communities. In the second place, as I have already said, the total acreage of cultivable land is very much less than the W.A.P., and the people who own it are much less agriculturally minded than the farmer-owners of the W.A.P. It is an essentially desert country, with the Rub'al Khali just

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behind it, and *not* the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall. 133

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts. 648

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra. 101

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of 241 311 565 463 731

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731 getting food from abroad in war-time, the loss of money from the Far East, and the drought, famine ensued. I am thankful to say that owing to the generous help of His Majesty's Government and to the breaking of the drought, conditions are now much better, but from the point of view of this survey the thing to be remembered is that in all probability the produce of the country cannot sustain much more than a quarter of the population and that it is very largely dependent on money from abroad. Of old, the ancient Hadhramaut lived on the incense trade, so that the Mediterranean countries provided the cash. When the incense went by sea the Hadhramis learnt to emigrate, and the present Hadhramaut has drawn its cash from the Far East, East Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia [67] —the countries to which the people migrate. One out of every three or four Hadhramis lives and works abroad. Emigration or means to earn money abroad is an absolute essential to the Hadhramaut, and there are grounds for fearing it is not going to be so easy in the future as it has been in the past.

So much for the gloomier side of the picture. In 1938 I described to the Royal Central Asian Society how a three-year peace embracing the whole of the Hadhramaut had been made and how the organization of government had started. To my mind the brightest thing about the Hadhramaut is the way the Government of the Qu'aiti State has advanced and developed social services, and, serious as the famine was, principally in part of the Inner Hadhramaut, out of it has grown a number of educational and medical developments which would probably not have matured if there had been no famine. The State Government had so far advanced by the time it came, that it was able to cope with difficulties and there developed a real spirit of service. It could not have managed on its own resources if His Majesty's Government had not helped so generously, but what the state could do in a financial way it did and the service its officials gave could not have been provided without it.

652 At the time when reorganization of the Government[1] started about
178 seven years ago the revenue was about Rs. 6,30,000, of which Rs. 3,10,000 were spent on Government services; Rs. 2,25,000 of that went to irregular soldiers and to slaves. This year the revenue is estimated at just under Rs. 15,00,000. On April 1, 1939, there was a general deficit of Rs. 40,000, because the late Sultan used to take all the cash he could to India. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit balance of Rs. 14,00,000. In this year the Government is preparing to spend Rs. 16,00,000, of which Rs. 4,00,000 goes to the maintenance of security forces. There are forts, with soldiers or gendarmerie, and garrison towns all round the country, so that security is very greatly improved. The Budget also includes, under various heads, about Rs. 300,000 for relief work direct and indirect. The amount paid on education has risen from Rs. 6,000 in 1934 to Rs. 154,000 in 1944. Only Rs. 5,550 was spent on medical work in 1934; in 1944 the sum was Rs. 74,000 for medical and sanitary services.

641 It seems to me that these figures indicate, more clearly than anything
178 else can, progress and the will to progress. I cannot give many details of new developments, but I will mention some of them quite briefly. One of the most striking things is the growth of reciprocal confidence between

[1] [of the Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

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Government and beduin. Many beduin tribes who were inveterate foes of the Qu'aitis have now declared permanent peace with the Government and said they are "sons of government." The State Government has now a beduin affairs department staffed entirely by local tribesmen, and there is a system of tribal courts. There are many tribesmen in Government service, and the greater number of the soldiers and police are now tribesmen and beduin. In the old days, Hadhrami tribesmen were hardly ever employed in Government and there were very few in the forces. The only effective soldiers were Yafa'is, irregular mercenaries and slaves. Even the Government slaves have now disappeared. There is an African company in the regular army which consists of ex-slaves and Somalis and is employed on guarding an R.A.F. station, and others are employed as Government servants on the same footing as Arabs; the old slaves have been pensioned. All soldiers and police are taught to read and write, and by passing examinations in the military school can and do secure promotion. Enlistment is popular now because of the amenities provided and because a soldier can definitely expect to be more fitted for civil life when he leaves the forces. The status of a military life is very definitely advanced.

Another thing that attracts attention is the development in education. The coastal elementary schools have 1,700 boys in them instead of 300, and the education department is rapidly extending over the interior. There is an intermediate boarding school for 80 boys which opened last year. There is a boarding school attached to the Hadhrami Beduin Legion with 100 beduin boys in it, and another with 24 beduin girls. There are several town girls' schools, the biggest and best being in Mukalla with 150 girls, who learn not only to read and write, but to sew, embroider, wash, and cook. A most interesting experiment has lately been started with a whole village organized as a school, where 300 boys and girls of the serf class—a class which works hard but does very little thinking for itself—are being trained to run their own village and to learn various industries and crafts. Teachers of the Mukalla Government and other volunteers are also teaching adults of the serf class to read and write the language they speak and trying to induce in them some public health consciousness.

On the medical side a hospital is being built in Mukalla, and the sanitary state of the town—which may shortly have a municipality—has been greatly improved.

Of old, Government[1] was mainly carried on by a handful of officials with a Sultan generally in India, but the present Sultan has spent most of his reign in his state and has a state council of officials and unofficials to help him. The executive work of Government is in charge of a state secretary and twenty organized departments.

In the Kathiri State progress has not been nearly so spectacular. The revenue is much smaller and the Wadi Hadhramaut is so divided by the jealousies of Sultans and tribesmen, and handicapped by the unwillingness or inability of the bulk of the seiyids to get together and co-operate, that the Government is not nearly so alive. There is, however, a state secretary at Seiyun and a good deal of the work of a government has been organized.

[1] [Qu'aiti State -- Analyst]

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178, 565 The Wahidi Sultânate of Balhaf asked for advisory arrangements in 1939 and that of Bir 'Ali in 1943. The former was making very reasonable progress on its modest means till the war upset its Customs receipts, and security forces and schools were established. Bir 'Ali has only just started, but the town has been cleaned up, the Customs organized, and a school and dispensary provided for.

491 178 Much extension of motorable tracks has been made, and all places of importance in Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory can now be reached by car. Bir 'Ali and Balhaf soon will be, as a motor road towards Aden had passed its most difficult stretch and was getting on towards the agricultural region of Meifa in June, 1944.

178 565 So that on the whole, despite the famine, the picture is one of progress rather more than one would at first sight expect of a rather unpromising country. For beyond the handicaps of nature have been the handicaps the inhabitants have made for themselves: the chronic insecurity, the everlasting divisions, and the unsound social system of the Inner Hadhramaut, with a number of classes so acutely separated as more to resemble the castes of India than social grades in the brotherhood of Islam. And there was, on the whole, so much desire for independence on the part of all—though almost all classes interpreted it differently—that it was difficult to see how a few foreigners could get over the suspicion and help the 000 people to achieve something. But I think that now the Qu'aiti State, at least, could stand to some extent on its own legs and would be unlikely to collapse entirely if it was left to itself, for its stability does not entirely depend on its ruler alone, although he has been such a tower of strength in promoting progress. I think the thing that would be mostly lacking 648 if it were left to itself would be initiative. The best thing that could happen to the Hadhramaut now would be a federation of the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States and the Wahidi Sultanates. I think this could be achieved, but it is not very easy. On the Qu'aiti side the objection is to spending money in Kathiri territory, although the old hatred between the two has died out, and in Kathiri territory the difficulty is the disunion between the various sections of the Wadi Hadhramaut. It is, however, fair that the Qu'aiti State should help in Kathiri territory, as much of its Customs revenue comes from goods imported by the Kathiri State, which has no ports. Between the Wahidi Sultanates there is still intense hatred, which was fanned up a couple of years ago by the murder of the Balhaf Regent in a plot hatched by the Bir 'Ali Sultans. But as the Bir 'Ali Sultans have now turned respectable and accepted advisory arrangements, some federation could probably be brought about. Bir 'Ali, having the better harbour, will have better revenue than Balhaf, which has a larger population to provide for. One would hope for a federation which left autonomy in local matters to the constituent parts of the country, but shared the cost of social services, communications, and so on. If the Hadhramis can emigrate and if they can govern themselves with a sound federal Government, they will have something to thank us for of lasting worth, and no doubt those abroad will give a good report of the British connection.

000 Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country.

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It has far more culture than the Western Aden Protectorate, and of indigenous Arab culture, more than Aden. The outlook of Mukalla and Shihr is commercial, but recent advances in education and the provision of clubs, the organization of public debates and so on, is spreading culture of a suitable kind. The driving force behind this movement is largely local, but great assistance has been given by the Sudan Government in the provision of teachers and by the British Council and His Majesty's Government in subsidizing the intermediate school. Arab culture flourishes at a fairly high level in the Wadi Hadhramaut itself, where there are religious academies of old standing and where, when you go to a dinner-party, poetry and philosophy are commonly talked. The Wahidi country and the other tribal areas have no culture to compare with this, though almost everywhere there are seiyids and mansabs who have kept alight the torch of learning since Ahmed bin Isa al Mohajir, the ancestor of all the seiyids, came to the Hadhramaut and started the work which his descendants have carried on for over 1,000 years.

The Colony of Aden

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Lastly, Aden itself. No doubt many of you are familiar with its general appearance. Everybody who sees it is struck with its natural grandeur, which, however desolate and forbidding, forms a fitting setting for one of the great fortresses of our Eastern Empire. After a visit ashore one is left with a feeling of depression at the general shoddiness of man's handiwork, and the shoddiness is even more depressing when one realizes that it is entirely due to British work and influence. All over the Yemen and the two protectorates you find towns and villages that provide pictures worth photographing. Probably many of you have seen Miss Stark's book of pictures, *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, and if you know Aden will agree that it would be a waste of film to photograph it.

This was not always the case, and it is worth while reading descriptions of previous Adens.

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As you probably know, Aden and Eden are the same word, but I won't try to persuade you that Aden was once the fairest garden of all. Nevertheless, the Eden mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel was no doubt our Aden and so in his time it may have been a fair city. Apostrophizing Tyre and Sidon, the prophet included it amongst the great marts of the then known world which traded with them:

> "Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba,
> Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants."

What the early Aden looked like we do not know. In the first century it had suffered destruction. The Periplus says:

". . . there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. . . . But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."

But this did not prevent a new and worthy Aden arising. Ibn Batuta,

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175 who visited it in the thirteenth century, does not describe it closely, but gives an idea of its importance in the following passage:

"It is enclosed by mountains, and you can enter by one side only. It is a large town, but has neither corn nor trees, nor fresh water, except from reservoirs made to catch the rain water; for other drinking water is at a great distance from the town. The Arabs often prevent the townspeople coming to fetch it until the latter have come to terms with them, and paid them a bribe in money or clothes. The heat at Aden is great. It is the port frequented by the people from India, and great ships come thither from Kunbayat, Tana, Kaulan, Fandaraina, Shaliat, Manjarur, Fakanur, Hinaur, Sindabur, etc. There are Indian merchants residing in the city, and Egyptian merchants as well."

Being an Arab, perhaps its beauties did not strike him in the same way as they struck the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa in 1518:

". . . Passing by these we arrive at the populous and wealthy city of Aden, which belongs to the Moors and has its own King. This city has a right good haven and an exceeding great traffic in goods of importance. It is a fine town with lofty houses of stone and mortar, flat-roofed, with many tall windows; it is well laid out in streets and surrounded with walls, towers and bastions, with battlements after our fashion. This city is on a point between the mountains and the sea. The mountain is cut through on the mainland side, so that there is no way of going out save by one passage only which they can use; on no other side can they come in or go out. On the upper part of this ridge, whereon the city lies, are many small castles, very fair to behold, which can be seen from the sea."

An idea of the place as it was then can be derived from a sixteenth century wood engraving. Sir Henry Yule commented on it as follows:

"It will seem absurd, especially to those who knew Aden in the early days of our occupation, and no doubt some of the details are extravagant, but the general impression is quite consonant with that derived from the description of De Barros and Andres Corsali: 'In site and aspect from the seaward,' says the former, 'the city forms a beautiful object, for besides the part which lies along the shore, with its fine walls and towers, its many public buildings and rows of houses rising aloft in many stories, with terraced roofs, you have all that ridge of mountain facing the sea and presenting to its very summit a striking picture of the operations of Nature, and still more of the industry of man.' This historian says that the prosperity of Aden increased on the arrival of the Portuguese in those seas, for the Mussulman traders from Jedda and the Red Sea ports now dreaded these Western corsairs, and made Aden an entrepôt, instead of passing it by as they used to do in days of unobstructed navigation. This prosperity, however, must have been of very brief duration."

By the time the next description I have been able to trace was written, the Turks had destroyed the place, though there were still traces of its former glory. Writing in 1609, John Jourdain says:

"This cittie of Aden hath in former time been a famous and stronge place, but at present is ruinated and destroyed by the Turks. There hath bene very faire buildings in it, as by the remainders of the faire houses which are lefte may be seene, falling to the ground for want of repayringe.

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There are in this cittie yett remayneinge many Arabs of the poorer sorte, which are but as slaves to the Turke. This cittie is walled round with a stone wall, very stronge, and hath in it three very stronge gates, vizt. one on the north side, with yren grates to take up and downe at their pleasure, and within this gate there are twoe other gates, one a prettie distance one within another; these two gates are of timber, with great nayles as thicke as they can stand; and the reason why this gate is stronger than the other is because this way is the easiest way for any enemie to assault the cittie, having noe other good entrance but over rocks or by the sea. Under their castles on the south side there is annother gate; but this gate is commoonlie kept fast, because that way there is noe recourse of people, because it is towards the mountains, where there is noe travelling. The third gate is toward the sea, which is towards the west, by the castell, which is without the towne, upon the top of the iland. All the gates have a guard kept in them naight and daie. The towne is cittuated in a valley envyronned aboute with craggie mountaines, except at the north side, where the three gates are; and on the mountaines there are castells and watch howses round aboute, with ordinance in them, and watch kept in all of them, although with fewe men, for that they are scituated in such stronge places that one man may keepe out twenty. All these forts are within falcon shoet of the towne and doth command the whole cittie. . . ."

Even a hundred years later, 1709, Aden was still impressive, as can be gathered from the description by La Rocque:

"Aden is seated at the Foot of high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. There are five or six Forts on the Tope of them, with Curtains, and a great many other Fortifications at the Necks of the Mountains. A fair Aqueduct conveys from thence the Waters into a great Canal, or Reservatory, built about three quarters of a mile from the City, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. . . .

"The place is encompass'd with Walls, which are at present in a bad Condition enough; especially towards the sea where nevertheless there are some Plattforms at certain distances, with five or six Batteries of Brass Canon, some of which carry a Ball of sixty Pounds weight. . . .

"I say nothing about the Inside of this Town, which is considerably big, and where there are to be seen many fine Houses of two Stories, and Terrass'd on Top, but with all, many Ruins and decay'd buildings. 'Tis easy to perceive by what remains of it, and the advantagiousness of the Situation that Aden was formerly a famous Town, and of great importance, very strong, and the principal Bulwark of the Happy Arabia. . . .

"I must confess, that there are not to be seen of the kind, fairer Stoves and Baths than those of this Town; they are all lin'd with Marble, or Jaspar, and cover'd with a fair Dome, through which the Light comes, which is adorn'd within-side with Galleries, supported by magnificent Columns. All the Building is perfectly well divided into Chambers, Closets, and other vaulted Apartments, which all meet at the principal Hall of the Dome. . . ."

That was the final end of the impressive aspect of Aden. Just before the British occupation—1835—Wellsted wrote:

"All that remains of the former city are a few minarets, about a

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175 hundred houses, and some disjointed remnants of its walls, the rest being occupied by tombs, mounds, and heaps of rubbish, roofless walls of older dwellings, or the wretched habitations of the present residents."

And in 1838 Haines the first Resident said:

"The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine this town possessed unrivalled celebrity, for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from every quarter of the world. But how lamentable is the present contrast. With scarcely a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities, and regrets the barbarous cupidity of that Government, under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low."

In 1877, Captain Hunter, in his description of British Aden, says:

"At present the town of Aden consists of about 2,000 whitewashed houses built of stone and mud, divided into streets and lanes; it is nearly 1,400 yards broad. Many of the houses are double-storied, but none are noteworthy for their architecture. The whole town has been rebuilt since the British occupation. . . .

The only building of any pretension in the Crater is the Court-house and Treasury office; the barracks are commodious but not handsome; the Protestant church, situated on a hill, has some slight claim to honourable mention. The mess-houses of the two regiments stationed in the Crater are substantial and commodious buildings. . . ."

From then on travellers became more frequent, and I quote only Walter B. Harris in 1893:

"What a scene of desolation and dreariness Aden presents to the newcomer! And how soon one gets to like the place in spite of it all! A background of dreary blackish rock, a sandy road, half a dozen rickety gharies under the shelter of a hideous iron-roofing, with sleepy little ponies and still more sleepy Somali drivers; a whitewashed domed saint's tomb, with an apology for a garden on each side, in which a few weary-looking plants were trying to appear green under a thick coating of dust and a sweltering sun; a long crescent of badly (designed) houses, with the exception of the handsome Aden Bank buildings, faced by an expanse of sand and black palings—and that is Steamer Point, as one first sees it."

And Colonel Jacob, in 1923, wrote:

". . . but Aden is still fifty years behind the times. The apathy of Government is visible in this settlement. . . .

"There has been but little system or plan in the erection of buildings. There is scarcely one building in Aden of architectural beauty. An expert once landed and gave us hints, but these have not been carried out."

175 361 What a depressing thought it is that we who have done so much in the East have been guilty of building anything like the modern Aden. You will have gathered from the extracts I have read that we knew well enough what it was like of old, and we knew well enough what beautiful cities the Arabs round us were capable of building. Even if we had merely kept to the lay-out Haines made and encouraged builders from the Yemen and the Hadhramaut to do the rest, we should have had a town with beauty

* [See preceding pages -- Analyst]

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and character and worthy of the grandeur of its setting, even if from a modern point of view is was not a perfect town. What the place needs is a plan for gradual rebuilding, with due regard to the architecture of the region and to its own needs.

For Aden will probably always be an important commercial centre, as it has been since the days of Ezechiel, and it will no doubt always be an imperial fortress. From the former aspect it needs replanning. It is ridiculous, for instance, that goods imported for re-export, such as skins and coffee, should be carried from the harbour up the pass into Aden town and then carried back again after repacking. From a fortress point of view the shoddy buildings of Tarshein and Morbat need replacing with something more worthy. Why, for instance, it is necessary to have pent roofs, the development of a rainy country, in a country where flat roofs are required, is a mystery. But the roofs are a minor matter, the buildings are in themselves and from any point of view hideous.

But it is not of the commercial or military aspects of Aden I wish to speak, nor need I say anything about the government and life of the colony itself. The colony is year by year recovering from the long period during which the declared policy was to consider the garrison as the only part of Aden that mattered, and not to spend money and effort on the people. Since it became a colony, Aden has accumulated substantial surplus balances, and once hostilities are over great development of social services can be undertaken.

But it is of Aden as the potential culture centre of the Southern Red Sea and Gulf of Aden area that I should like to speak. Willy-nilly, since the time of its capture Aden started to play a part in the affairs of its neighbours. Before that time, such contacts as there were with South Arabia were conducted through the Government of Bombay and the Government of Mauritius. Gradually the protectorate was built up, as I have described, the chiefs were entertained, and as the commerce of Aden redeveloped, the town began to be the market of the Western Aden Protectorate, the Yemen and British Somaliland. It is now, alas, regarded as the acme of what the British think good. Aden has in the past been an educational centre despite itself. It just could not help it, because of its geographical position.

It is quite clear that anything Aden has better than its neighbours, must attract the latter to it. In the past the attraction has been mainly trade, though medical facilities have attracted many, and even the wretched education which it offered in the past has been used.

In 1935 a small boarding school for thirty-six selected pupils, mainly the sons of chiefs, was started, and that was the first active attempt to offer something educative to the people of the protectorate. Its avowed object is to help in the production of more enlightened chiefs, and, though roughly it only provides primary schooling, it has done definite good and has become a success.

As soon as the war is over the British Council will be opening what will eventually be a secondary school, mainly for boys from the protectorate and the Yemen, the Lord Lloyd College. Possibly later on it will attain university status.

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Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

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culture, I think that Aden can, if it wills, play a great part in helping the people of South-West Arabia (and even of Somaliland if it wishes) to become more able to play a real part in the development of their countries and in the Arab world. Perhaps it is looking too far ahead to expect an Arab world politically unified, but it does seem certain that closer contacts in many things will now come to pass and in no field more so than in culture.

Perhaps the best way in which Aden could attract the best of the cultured and would-be cultured classes, would be by providing the best possible religious and literary education in Arabic as well as English courses, and courses on English culture, British imperial history and policy, and particularly Britain's rôle in the Middle East. I specify these two things because to a Muslim education without religion is an anomaly, and because one thing that needs to be understood in South-West Arabia, as elsewhere, is the British ideal in colonial administration and British intention in the Middle East. South-West Arabia is afraid of what it calls colonization. It would be well that it should understand what British "colonization" really is, that in any case there is no reason to fear our applying it to that area, but that we can help them to play a full part in the Arab world and are ready to do so. Such an institution could also provide courses of study in other subjects for which a demand developed, such as agriculture, civil administration, and so on.

South-West Arabia is a country with an area of several hundred thousand square miles and a population of several million, in which our only imperial interests are the fortress of Aden and the security of the sea and air communications. This does not conflict in any way with the interests of the people, who desire at present no more than their own freedom and independence in their own country and facilities to earn abroad, since their own country cannot support them all.

I hope I have made my picture intelligible. If I have you will have seen that the great majority of the people are intelligent and, out of their own country, often able in affairs. That they have an instinct for beauty, especially in their architecture, and a good deal of culture, which they value highly. That they are independent minded and that their strongest loyalties are to their faith and homes. You will also have seen that in comparison with modern world standards they are backward and that their individualism has been a chronic cause of disunion. Against this I think you will have seen that they are very friendly to us, and, provided they see no reason for suspicion of our intentions, can and do learn from us. I think you will have seen the enormous possibilities of Aden as a centre from which to help them and, taking everything into consideration, you may agree that we can probably best help them to take their full place in the Arab world through educational agencies centred there. Such agencies, though they would no doubt be assisted and approved by Government, would probably be more successful if they were not Government directed, since in that way it is easier to avoid suspicion of political motives.

Mr. PHILBY: I think you will all agree with the purport of the lec-

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000 turer's closing remarks—that Aden to-day is a very dreary place, and we have not done ourselves much credit in the century we have been there that it should be so. Aden is not only depressing in itself, but it has a depressing effect on all those who have been there. I expect most of you in this room have visited Aden, or have at least called there at some time or other, and you can bear out this description of the place.

Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams are, however, an exception to the general rule. They are not only a unique pair in the history of exploration in Arabia, but they are exceptional in the way they have managed to keep themselves unsullied by this atmosphere of intellectual and mental depression. They are, I believe, the first people really to have explored the south-west corner of Arabia. Colonel Jacob, a generation ago, did some very good work in that area, but even he was never tempted into the parts beyond easy reach of Aden itself. The Ingrams have contributed a very great deal to our knowledge of the region outside the immediate neighbourhood of Aden; a region of which I think it is fair to say that the only previous accounts were either travellers' tales or an occasional official report hidden away in the files of the Colonial Office. Mr. Ingrams also has written his official reports, but, unlike his predecessors, he has managed to see to it that he has been on the spot to carry out some of the things he recommended should be done. No doubt the people of Aden and the Hadhramaut are grateful to us as a nation for what Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams have done for them. For, apart from what the Ingrams had already then begun, it is only within the last ten years that we, as a ruling power, have seriously tried to do something for these areas that we claim to govern.

648 ME 648 1 Mr. Ingrams told us something about these countries of South-West Arabia, he said, in order that we might be able to bring the area into the general picture of what is called the sphere of Arab Federation.

We might call these countries prospective candidates for Arab Federation, were it not that under the conditions that obtain in Arabia to-day, Arab Federation is a completely impossible conception. You cannot have federation in any area of which half is free and the other half is under the control of foreign powers. However beneficent those powers may be, and even if they do good where they are in control, they ought not to be there at all.

Lahej is the natural fringe of the Yemen, and to the Yemen it will inevitably return some day. Hadhramaut always enjoyed a considerable measure of independence. Only in the second or third century A.D. was it absorbed into the Yemen of that day, and there is no question but that to-day it does not want to return to the Yemen nor to have anything to do with it.

On the other hand, a ruler who, like the King of Yemen, has governed an unruly country with success for upwards of forty years, deserves the gratitude of his people, for there is no doubt that had it had a less able ruler the country would have come under foreign control long since.

It may be interesting to you to know that to-day, as we sit here, a meeting is taking place between King Ibn Sa'ud of Sa'udi Arabia and King Farouk of Egypt at Yanbu' on the western coast of the Hedjaz. I do not think that under present circumstances Arab Federation has any

1 [Mr. Philby speaking - - Analyst]

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chance of coming into being. But without discussing that, they have much of common interest to consider. In itself the visit of a King of Egypt to a King of Arabia is a matter of the utmost importance and significance. For unless the Arab states can come to an understanding on such matters as are implicit in the project of an Arab Federation, there is no doubt that sooner or later they will come under foreign domination.

If Arabia, with its position in the centre of the world, is to keep quiet and become prosperous, its present problems must be solved. I believe the best form that our sympathy with Syria and the Lebanon could take would be if we could agree with the French that neither we nor they would control any Arab area. The secret agreement between ourselves and the French in 1916, against which the Arab world has always protested, is the foundation of the presence of the French in Syria and Lebanon. Unless we are ourselves prepared to give up control of Arab territories we have no right to criticize the French.

When we have done that, I hope that, in a spirit of friendship, we may be able to send them people like Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, not as officials but as friends, to whom I am sure the Hadhramaut will always be grateful as to individuals who have taken the trouble to know the Arabs, to love them and to work for them.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: I would like to congratulate the Royal Central Asian Society on this lecture, and Mr. Ingrams on the way in which he managed to cover so wide a field so successfully.

There are one or two points that I should like to raise. One is the importance of this part of Arabia. It has been overshadowed in the last few years when the Arab world has been thrust into intimate contact with the West, and the name Arab has carried with it to European minds the general idea of a nomad, or a merchant with his caravan of camels. This idea has been taken from the character of life in the northern and central parts of Arabia, and similarly Arab expansion has been thought of as a movement by land.

But Southern Arabia also played a great part in the diffusion of Arabic culture, and Arab expansion southwards spread as much by sea as it did in the north by land. Hadhramaut has from ancient times had contacts with the Far East of Asia. The Omeiras had close contacts with East Africa, and, as you could see from the pictures the lecturer has shown us, the Far East in return influenced the architecture of South Arabia.

The culture of Southern Arabia was more advanced than that of any other part of the peninsula in ancient times. This heritage is still latent in those countries, and it is worth while to help them revive it and take their part in the affairs of Asia.

A second point which Mr. Ingrams neglected to stress is the part he has himself played in the development of this area. I met him first in 1936, when he was just starting work in the Hadhramaut. He was not content to lead a leisured life in the comfort of Mukalla; he chose instead to go to the people of the hinterland, and through his work he has come to command the respect of all classes of the community. I have met many Hadhramis and they used to speak freely to me as an Egyptian, and I have been struck by their appreciation of his work, in pacification, in develop-

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ing friendly relations between the tribes, in work for education and for health.

I am afraid that what Mr. Ingrams says of Aden is true. It is a region of what we may call cultural contact, where Western and Arab ideas meet. Owing to the development of roads there is now a competition between the ports of Aden and Hodeida. Where commerce is developing there must be such cultural contacts, and unless this contact is controlled the result will be cultural confusion. I feel that the British Council might do valuable work, therefore, in trying to create at Aden a centre where Arabs may learn the best of Western culture, and may guide the developments that must arise in that region.

Colonel ELPHINSTON: We have been told that the Middle East is likely to be a testing ground of world controls. For reasons indicated by Mr. Philby, it may prove a more difficult testing ground than has sometimes been thought. But in that connection I would like to ask Mr. Ingrams one or two questions.

I understand that subsidies are not paid to the Sheikhs of the Aden Protectorate and the Trucial Coast, but that a subsidy is paid to King Ibn Sa'ud, and, further, that the Emperor of Abyssinia was recently offered a subsidy and refused it. Can Mr. Ingrams tell us if he thinks these subsidies a good thing, and whether he can suggest some way of controlling the expenditure of these monies so as to ensure their being used for the purpose for which they are given by the British taxpayers?

Secondly, the Jewish Agency in Palestine recently allotted some of the small annual quota of immigration permits to Oriental Jews, including some from the Yemen. Are the conditions under which Jews live in the Yemen such as to justify using up permits which may be desperately needed for European Jewish refugees?

Mr. INGRAMS: It is now agreed that it is better not to hand out large sums of money to rulers or individuals, which might be misused. But it is a good thing to provide money to start new and useful projects. I think that it is better to allow local freedom in the handling of these subsidies in such naturally independent countries, rather than to exercise a close control such as is applied in the ordinary type of dependency. In Hadhramaut it is not difficult to be certain that the money is well expended, because the Government is organized and has its own auditor, and there is a proper system of keeping public accounts.

No doubt there are sometimes instances of dishonesty, as such happen everywhere, but I do not think the Hadhramaut is at all bad in this respect. I once had an instance of the care that is taken, when a man from the Hedjaz came in to see me in my office, and when I waited to learn what he wanted, he said, "I have called because I thought I would like to tell you that this is the first port I have called at where I have not had to give a single bribe. Customs, passport officials, police, and everyone else, they have all done their duty without wanting rewards." And I think I can assure you that in the greater matter of the subsidies the money is properly spent and is not frittered away.

With regard to the status of the Jews. In Sana'a the outside exteriors of the Jewish houses do not look very promising, but when you get inside

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the better-class houses there is a great deal of comfort. I do not think there is any oppression of the Jewish community, and within the limits of the sumptuary laws they are properly treated. There is a natural feeling of resentment on the part of the Jews against the sumptuary laws. On the other hand, they are much more lightly taxed than are the Arabs as Muslims. The reason why they are popular as immigrants into Palestine is no doubt that they fit in well and are welcome as very good citizens. In the western area of the Hadhramaut, too, they are felt to be very valuable citizens. In Yemen, like all other citizens, they lose their property if they leave the country. The law is that only Yemeni subjects can own immovable property in the country, and if anyone leaves the country with the intention of acquiring another domicile he ceases to be a Yemeni subject.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I have been told that King Ibn Sa'ud got teachers to supply his schools from the University of el Azhar in Cairo. Can the lecturer tell us whether it has been possible to follow a similar plan in the Hadhramaut? It seems a pity that a Westernized form of education should be brought in.

Mr. INGRAMS: In the Hadhramaut the improvement in education has been due to local enthusiasm and to several teachers from the Sudan. Great care has been taken in drawing up the educational programme to make it conform with the natural cultural traditions of the country. The seiyids are nervous of Westernized education, and it is all under the direction of Arabs in an attempt to strengthen the old culture of the Arab world while assimilating what is useful from the West.

Dr. HUZZAYYIN: Although time has not allowed the lecturer to develop that side of his subject, Aden has great possibilities as a meeting place. If we could build up an Arab centre there, we could have a wedding of Arab and British culture.

The CHAIRMAN then expressed the very warm appreciation of the audience and their thanks to Mr. Ingrams for his lecture and the really beautiful photographs by which it was illustrated.